

If no agreement could be reached, war followed. These ambassadors, 721 according to the information that I could obtain, appear always to have been men of some tribal importance, who, through relationships of marriage, adoption, or *e inoa*, had some family bond in the enemy tribe that would give them protection.

Before a great war the chief of the aggressive tribe or the one that expected to be attacked sent one of his warriors to summon his allies. This messenger was called *pa'e vi'i* (*pa'e*, head-dress; *vi'i*, to make a tour). Dordillon (8) gives *pa'e vi'i toua*, with the meaning to announce war, to invite to war. This messenger wore on his back the leaf of a cocorut tree shredded into small strips (*kahu kou'ehi*), a sign of *tapu*. Following his call, all the fighting men betook themselves to the precincts of the chief who was summoning them. The blowing of the chief's conch trumpet meant a summons to war. The trumpet was not carried into battle, however. When the fighters were all gathered together in the warrior's home, a chant called the *puko toua*, or *pa'e vi'i toua*, was intoned by the warriors. Formal declaration of war (*utu po*) consisted in going on the mountain tops in view of the enemy tribe and uttering war cries, or, in later times, of firing a few gun-shots. If it were an offensive war for revenge victims, three special discharges of musketry were made: the first, called *oho tae* (*oho*, be angry; *tae*, accomplish), in the morning; the second, *tuhi toto* (*tuhi*, sign; *toto*, blood), at noon; the third, *tamoe oe* (*tamoe*, watch at night with dead; *oe*, you), in the evening (7).

WAR LEADERS AND FIGHTERS

Chiefs sometimes went into battle, but usually did not go. It would 701 appear that chiefs were seldom actual war leaders. This would be a natural result of the fact that the position of civil chief resulted rather from wealth than prowess. Every head of a tribe had, doubtless, been a fighter in his youth, but it was the chief with whom lay the responsibility, initiative, and decision, and from whom came the orders which motivated the tribe in war. His was the warriors' house, which was in reality merely one of the houses of his establishment; and his was the general direction of all labor connected with war on a large scale: the assembling of allies, the feeding of the fighters, the building of war canoes, the dispatch of the war party, and such defensive measures and preparations for flight as will be described later.

The actual war leader was called *toa*, which means ironwood, male, brave, strong. The *toa* performed no labor other than fighting. Of these there were always few in a tribe; sometimes only one, sometimes two, three, or four. The position and right to the title was attained solely

The harvesting of breadfruit at the time of the main crops, of which there were four in each productive year—that is when there was rainfall—was a communal enterprise undertaken at different times in different parts of the group. When the chief saw that the breadfruit were ready for harvesting, he would summon his workers with a blast of his conch shell, or would send an executive *tuhuna* to get adequate assistance. The first, or

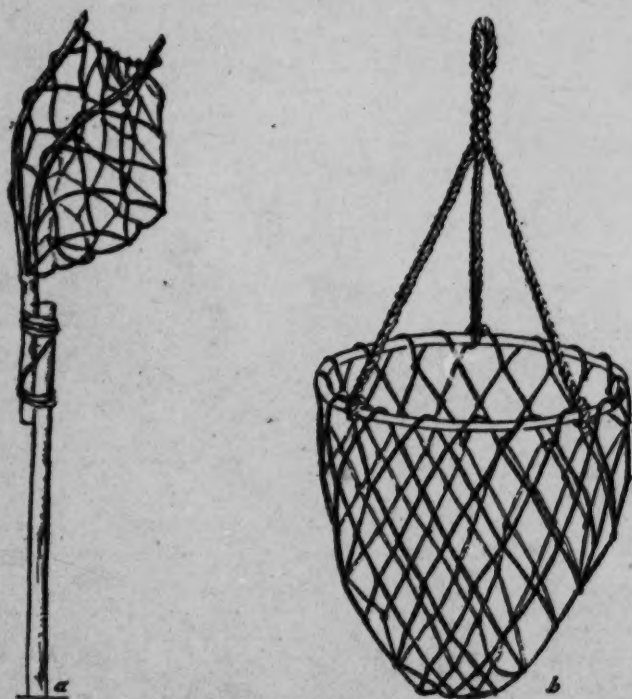


FIGURE 19.—Breadfruit nets: a, hand net for breadfruit (*pa'aho*); b, large net for breadfruit (*ho'oko*).

preliminary crop of breadfruit, which always preceded by only a short interval the more abundant main crop, belonged entirely to the chief, and served to fill his private breadfruit paste (*ma*) pits from which his household, guests, assistants, and workers were fed, and the great tribal reserve pits back in the valleys, which were filled in good times as a provision against famines. The second harvest was used to fill the private family pits.

were erected, one in which the *vorana* was chanted by men and women together, and the other, a *tapu* house in which the old men chanted the *tapu* chants called *pu'e* and *tona pou*. Besides the erection and decoration of these houses the other preliminaries preceding the festival consisted in preparing the food for the feast and rehearsing the chants and genealogies. The erection of the buildings and preparation of the food was the part of the giver of the feast. When the day of the feast came, the order of ceremony was as follows: first, in the afternoon, the chanting of the *tapu* chants in the *tapu* house (*tona pou*) by the men; then an adjournment, after which the *fau'au oa*, then the *vorana*, then the *ti'e mata*, and lastly the *mata* (genealogies) were chanted by men and women together in the common (not *tapu*) house (*fa'e papa*). At the conclusion of all the chanting there was the feast. On the morning following these rites there were certain ceremonial practices which will be described below. Further details of the rite are given with the description of the chants themselves.

The following description of such a festival was given by an old man who had been present at it. The *ho'ina pu'e* and *vorana* were celebrated at night. The month preceding the feast was occupied in preparation of food. A messenger was sent to all the relatives of the family telling them to make ready for the fête by learning well for recitation their sections (*vahina*), or branches, of the family genealogy (*matu*). The messenger was always one of these assisting in the preparations. The festival was opened with the *fau'au oa hakaiona*, a chant cried in a high voice by a woman of the family. (See *fau'au oa*.) (In this description it would appear that the *pu'e* was chanted in the house in which the women were present. This conflicts with better and more detailed evidence obtained later. I believe that here the old informant confused the *pu'e* and *vorana*, or else that confusion came in through my misunderstanding.) The house in which all the members of the family had gathered together to chant was a large one divided into two parts. The division was marked by the trunk of a banana tree lying on the floor. On the tree trunk burned a candlenut torch and beside it sat a woman. It was this woman who opened the chanting with the *fau'au oa*. During her recital smoking was *tapu*, but when it was over this *tapu* was lifted for a short time, until the next chant was begun. This was the *pu'e*. It was chanted alone by the *tuhuna pu'e* who sat by himself on one side of the house, all the people being grouped on the other side. Absolute silence was preserved while the *tuhuna* chanted. When he came to a certain point in his chant he would stop and a representative of some branch of the family would continue with the recitation of the genealogy of his branch. This completed, the *tuhuna* resumed his part, leaving off

538
776 again at a certain point when the representative of another branch would follow on with his section of the genealogy, and so on, until all branches of the family had chanted their sections. It is my belief that the *tuhuna* must have chanted first the *pu'e* and then continued chanting alone the earlier part of the genealogy after the creation, repeating it every time until it came down to the point at which the particular sections of the different branches of the family branched off. After the recitation of the genealogies was finished, the meeting was adjourned and the feast followed. This rite was evidently simpler than some in which the same chants were recited, details of which are to be given below. It would appear to be in the nature of a family reunion. For just what purpose the reunion was celebrated I could not ascertain.

Another informant at Pua Ma'u remembered a few details of a *ko'ina pu'e* celebrated on the feast place in front of the house of the chiefess. The feast was attended by the people of Moea and other valleys, besides the Pua Ma'u people. Long poles were set up in front of the large house for men on the main platform of the feast place. Around the base of the poles were wound great strips of white bark cloth, one-half of each strip being left free and spread out on the platform. The chanting of the *pu'e* alone and apparently by men was done in this house. It does not appear that the *vavana* was chanted at this rite, the purpose of which is unknown.

One informant at Pua Ma'u said that the *ko'ina vavana* and *ko'ina mata* were the same except that in the former women were allowed to eat pig, the shares of provisions allotted being taken home by the guests, while in the latter only fish could be eaten by the women, all the food being consumed on the spot.

538
869 When a father desired to have his son or daughter taught the sacred chants he employed a teacher for the purpose. A boy would be taught all the chants and the genealogies; but a girl only the *vavana* and the *mata* (genealogies) since the *pu'e*, *tona pou*, and others to be mentioned were *tapu*, restricted to men. The *tuhuna o'ono* (master of chanting) having been employed, he commenced his instruction. The work was begun in the common dwelling house. During instruction the boy or girl was under strict *tapu*. While the teaching was going on, work was begun on the house in which the *vavana* would be chanted at the time of the feast that was to follow. If it were a boy who was being taught, some of the instruction (that in the *tapu chants*) had to be given in a special house, and the *fa'e pu'e* (also called *tona pou*) was built for the purpose. This house was also used in the festival that followed. When the boy had learned the chants properly he made a round of the houses

in the valley announcing his *ko'ina*, bearing in his hand a token which constituted an announcement of the rite. This was called the *meove*, and consisted of a scraped *fau* stem ornamented with a woven green coconut leaf and white bark cloth (a *koufau*). The boy wore a coconut leaf over his shoulders and on his head a white bark-cloth turban, called *pa'e pulea*, that had a large bunch or knot of cloth in front over the forehead. 538
869
[202]

The father went secretly on the afternoon of the rite for a first-born child to get a kind of fish called *poo'o* for the *tona pou*. He must not be seen on his errand. He got also a round sea boulder covered with oyster shells; an octopus, or, if he could not secure an octopus, a taro root with eight rootlets to take its place. These objects were all instrumental somehow in raising the *mana* (power) of the boy. In the festival which was now celebrated there were two special houses in use, the *tona pou*, in which the men chanted the *pu'e*, *tona pou*, and other chants *tapu* to women; and the *fa'e papa*, in which the *vavana* was chanted by men and women. I assume that in a girl's festival only the *fa'e papa* was built and only the *vavana* chanted. [178]

The house in which the *tapu* chants were intoned by men was called a number of names according to its use: *tona pou*, *fa'e pou*, *fa'e pu'e*, *faia'u* or *feiahu*, *oho au no motuhaihi*, and *ohu au no ihi*, all these terms except *faia'u* being names of sacred chants recited at the feast or having reference to them. This structure, built near the tribal feast place (probably on the sacred platform, *me'ae*), is described as a wooden staging (*fata's akau*) supporting a special house (*oho au*). 346
538
869

The house itself was described as being of the same form as the common dwelling, that is, closed at the ends, open in front, with a pitched rear wall and roof combined. The informant who described it thus said, however, that it was built on a stone platform, whereas other informants said it was on posts. When the rite was finished the house was taken to pieces and the materials were deposited in the precincts of the tribal sacred place. This house was consecrated to the god Tai. [184]

Inside the house at the rear was a decorated altar (*ahu*). A sacred rope (*ton'a kaha*) was also placed somewhere inside. Near the altar, or on or under it, were placed two sacred stone blocks (*fatu*)—possibly one sacred stone block that had two names—from which a piece of stone was taken to make an adz for the boy. Before the house stood a post (*fata*) on which certain ceremonial objects were hung.

No detailed description of the altar (*ahu*) was obtained but it is my belief that it was a pile of sand. This supposition is based on the fact that sand was brought from the seashore for use in connection with the [322]

Handy—The Native Culture in the Marquesas

335

533

reason: the *pu hokahau* had on it a scale of four notes and the limit of the range of the *ru'u* and *rari*, as has been said, was four whole tones. It seems probable that anciently these songs were accompanied by the flute. The spacing of the holes of the flute which were measured off by two-finger widths may have had a determining influence on the scale originally used in the *ru'u*. [534]

On Ua Huka the same system of signaling was used by the women in the *hu'u* as that used by the men in the *tapriata* dance. (See Modern Dancing.) In other words the motions here were partly codical and partly pantomimic. One *rari* which I have has a repeated refrain called *moumu*. [202] ●

THE TAPÉ'A CHANT

The *tapé'a* was sung with the *rari*. Like it, it was sung by men and women together, and its subject matter, form, time, and melody were the same. After three or four *rari* were sung, the performers would stop, rest, smoke, and chat, and then finish with the *tapé'a*. In other words the *tapé'a* followed and completed the singing of the *rari*, just as the *pehi* followed the *putu*. In the *tapé'a* the women sang alone, while on some occasions the men did what was called *ha'a koakoa* (to enliven), making choral accompaniment, on other occasions uttering forceful ejaculations and accompanying them with pantomimic motions. While the *rari* and *ru'u* are quiet and meditative, the *tapé'a*, due to this part enacted by the men, is very rousing. The purpose, as evidenced by the meaning of the ejaculations and pantomime, and as explained by informants, is erotic excitation. [521]

THE PIPINE CHANT

The *pipine* was a song composed in honor of a girl, corresponding to the *putu* for the boy. Youths (*ka'ioi*) built a special house (*oho-aw*) near the dwelling of the girl's family. A *tuhuna* composed the *pipine* in this house, and there taught it to a choir of young girls (*vehine ka'ioi*). When the song had been well rehearsed it was sung before the house of the girl in whose honor it had been composed, and there was a feast in her honor. The words of the example obtained describe the girl's preparing herself for the fête. A woman leader (*kahua*) sang the first line before the others joined in, as was the *putu* chant for the boy. The melody is slow and graceful, essentially feminine. It has a range of only three notes. The singers, who were seated in lines on the grounds or on the house platform, accompanied their singing with clapping with the palms flat (*papakaki*) and with hollow palms (*pu*). There was no drum accompaniment. The bodies of the singers were swung from side to side accompanying the rhythm of the song. [533]